1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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852 304 Every boy and girl has to undergo the operation of scarification. This is begun when the child is quite young, and a small portion of the body is operated on. The operation is repeated at intervals during childhood, until the whole body has been scarified. A small flake of quartz or glass is used, and a series of fine incisions are made in the skin. The usual method is to cover a small portion of the skin with a number of parallel rows of short cuts. The choice of the design (if it can be called such) rests entirely with the person who performs the operation, who is in all cases a woman. The incisions leave scars that can usually only be seen when close to the person. In the photograph of Plate XV a pattern of scars may be seen. In this case the incisions became infected and raised scars were produced, and it is for this reason that they are visible in the photograph. In ordinary cases raised scars are not produced and the scarification is hardly visible in a photograph.

The only reason that the natives give for this custom is either that it improves the personal appearance, or else that it helps to make the child grow strong.

881 In the case of a girl the period of childhood is brought to a close by a ceremony that takes place on the occasion of her first menstrual discharge. The ceremony I describe is that in use in the Northern tribes, but I believe that the ceremony of the Southern tribes is very similar. On the occurrence of the first menstrual discharge the girl tells her parents, who weep over her. She must then go and bathe in the sea for an hour [343] or two by herself. After that she goes back to her parents' hut or to a special shelter that is put up for the occasion. She is 881 not required to go away from the camp. All ornaments are 292 removed from her, only a single belt of *Pandanus* leaf being left, with an apron of *ćainyo* leaves. Strips of *Pandanus* leaf are attached round her arms near the shoulders and round her wrists, and others are placed as bands crossing her chest from the shoulder to the waist on the opposite side, and crossing her abdomen from the iliac crest on the one side to the trochanter on the other. These are so attached that the long loose ends hang down at the girl's side. Bunches of leaves, either *ćelmo* (*Tetranthera lancæfolia*) or, if these be not obtainable, *poramo* (*Myristica longifolia*) are

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in this respect, that they will not remove or replace their *ō·bunga-*[1] in the presence of any person, even though of their own sex.[2]

Tattooing.—1. With regard to the practice of tattooing,[3]—so general among the eight tribes[4] of Great Andaman, and which, as Peschel remarks, "is only another substitute for raiment"—it has been erroneously asserted that its object is to "harden the skin against the stings of mosquitoes, sandflies, &c., and also for jungle travelling;" but so far from any such benefit being derived therefrom the aborigines aver that the skin becomes more sensitive after undergoing the ordeal, which is considered, primarily, as ornamental, and secondly, as proving the courage of the individual, and his (or her) power of enduring pain.

2. There are no special ceremonies connected with the operation, which, except in the northern tribes, is almost invariably performed by women, who, however, receive no remuneration, but rest satisfied with the honour of being considered competent to fulfil the task; all the sex are not equally skilled, and therefore, those who have gained distinction by former successes are, it may be said, the recognised practitioners, though no special status, or profit, in a material sense, is gained thereby.

3. Very few children[5] of either sex are allowed to remain untattooed after about the eighth year, and the final operation is often not attempted until the sixteenth or eighteenth year, the process being carried on gradually during the intervening period.[6]

4. The instrument used on these occasions is a flake of quartz, or, now-a-days, glass,[7] which is not "inserted in a stick," but held between the forefinger and thumb; the markings are found chiefly on the back, shoulders, nape of the neck, chest,

[1] The *ō·bunga-* is first worn by girls when they are about five or six years of age.

[2] *Vide ante* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

[3] The legend explaining its supposed origin has been given in Part II (*vide* "Mythology," paragraph 26).

[4] So far as our present knowledge enables us to say, the *jär·awa-* do not tattoo or shave themselves (*vide* "Tribal Distribution," paragraph 2).

[5] Even in the homes the practice is still observed, and one strong-minded youth, *ïːra-jö·do-*, who has hitherto declined to undergo the operation, which he has ventured to stigmatise as unnecessary, has earned for himself the (to them) unenviable designation of "*ab-lü·ta-*," *i.e.*, the "untattooed."

[6] The arms are generally the first part tattooed, and this is accomplished *prior* to the probationary period; the back is ornamented *during* the continuance of the fast and the chest, belly, legs, &c., *subsequently*. Sometimes an *d·kà-ká daka-*, *i.e.*, a youth about 11–12, requests that he may be tattooed on his back and on the nape of his neck before attaining the usual age; such a request from a lad is considered manly, and, indeed, almost heroic, for ordinarily the painful operation is postponed until some years later.

[7] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraphs 6 and 7.

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304 sides, abdomen, and also on the upper part of the feet and back of the hands.

5. Cicatrices are often observed on the persons of both sexes, but these are due to scarification (*tū·pke*[1]), or some accidental circumstance whereby the cut has been obliterated, or has failed to heal in the same manner as the others forming the design.[2]

6. The *·â·kà-.châ·riàr-*, *·â·kà-jār·o-*, *·â·kà-.ked·e-*, and *·ô·ko-jū·wai-*[3] are most given to tattooing their persons, and may be specially distinguished by three rows of cuts down the back and chest: these latter marks are ordinarily much fainter than the former. Though women do the greater part of this work, the three lines down the back are almost exclusively made by some male friend with the *ē·la-*,[4] or pig arrow; except the three lines in front, the women of these tribes have no special marks, but are covered, like the females of South Andaman, with small raised cuts, which are inflicted by their own sex, with the ordinary glass or quartz flake, and not with the *ē·la-*.

7. The *·â·kà-.kôl-* differ from the four tribes just mentioned, only in that they omit the centre row of the three down the back.

8. The *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, *.bō·jig-yâb-*, and *.bal·awa-* are covered with plain tattooing consisting merely of perpendicular and horizontal incisions all over[5] the person, thus:

●852 304 9. There is no distinction made in the mode of tattooing a chief's child and the other children of the tribe; the marks have no special significance, being merely regarded as ornamental;

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraphs 5, 6, 12, 16 and 17.

[2] They are not raised by producing "proud" flesh.

[3] Among these tribes the first and most severe operation consists in making the three rows down the back; during the time the wounds take to heal, the patient abstains from pork, in the belief that his recovery will thus be expedited. [262]

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 5.

[5] The special poss. pron. denoting the various parts of the body are also used, in connection with tattooing, to express the particular limb or member to which reference is intended; thus:—

ūt-yī tinga-	tattooing on chest or neck.	
ig-yī tinga-	,,	arm, shoulder, or breast.
ar-yī tinga-	,,	leg.
ab-yī tinga-	,,	back, body, or thigh.
ông-yī tinga-	,,	foot or hand.
·â·kà-yī tinga-	,,	side.

[6] *Vide* Plate II. fig. 1. Where, however, it will be seen that they do not quite attain to the regularity in marking here represented by the printing press.

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no coloured pigments or other preparations are rubbed into the wounds, which are left to heal of themselves: before leaving this subject I would mention that the face is never tattooed.

Painting.—1. Besides the permanent tattooing decorations, these savages employ three kinds of pigments for the further adornment of their dusky persons; and from the mode of their application it can be at once ascertained whether the individual be sick, or sorry, or whether he has taken, or is about to take, part in a merry-making.

2. No distinction with regard to rank or sex is made in the designs executed, yet, though these are not very numerous, no two persons are ordinarily painted exactly in the same way, as the pattern traced may be in one case on the chest, in another on the arm, in a third on the face, and so on; a temporary restriction is, however, laid upon the unmarried, who are not permitted to use the paint to their necks, either by way of ornament, or to relieve their pains.[1]

3. We have seen that according to their traditions[2] this was one of the arts in which *Pūluga-* instructed their first parents, and though temporarily lost after the Deluge it was revived by the accidental re-discovery of the necessary pigments: it may, therefore, be reasonably inferred that the practice is a very ancient one among these tribes.

4. The materials used are *ōg-*, *tâ·la-ōg-*, and *kòi·ob-*, which are applied, respectively, as a wash and in designs, more or less minute, with the nail or the tips of the fingers.

5. The first (*ōg-*), is a pale "whitish-grey" clay,[3] which is mixed with water and smeared thickly over the entire person with the palms of the hand, to denote mourning;[4] a lump of the same compound (*del·a-*) is also placed on the head at these times: hence the term *â·kà-ōg-*, a mourner.

6. After eating pork or turtle they are also in the habit of smearing *ōg-* over their bodies with their fingers, in the belief that it affects their breath, and that evil spirits will be unable to detect, and therefore will not be attracted to, them by the savoury smell of the food of which they have partaken. Again, when heated by travelling, or by hunting or dancing, they have recourse to the same wash, but in these cases it is applied thinly.[5]

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 2.
[2] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraphs 9 and 27.
[3] "I may remark that the natives far West . . . . when mourning for the dead, paint the whole of the body of a white or yellow colour; while in the East of New Guinea the natives for a similar event paint themselves with black" (*vide* paper by Signor S. M. D'Albertis: "Travels in New Guinea," Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vi, p. 215.)
[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 2.
[5] *Vide* "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 5.